

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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## THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

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### IMMIGRATION TO MAURITIUS.

WE come to the scheme of Lord Stanley which has for its object the introduction of Indian labourers into Mauritius, and the outline of which he gives in his despatch to Sir Lionel Smith, dated 22nd of January, 1842. Passing over the noble lord's attempt to meet some of the objections urged against the emigration of Coolies to Mauritius, we wish to correct one or two material errors into which he appears to have fallen. His lordship says, that "many of those (the Coolies) who have already fulfilled their contracts in Mauritius have returned to India, and having visited their families, and deposited with them the amount of their accumulations, would gladly enter into fresh engagements, were they not debarred by the existing laws." We find no evidence of this in the documents laid before parliament. With the exception of the three sirdars, to whom reference has been made elsewhere, we can find none who were positively willing, none who were anxious, as the noble lord would make it appear, to return to Mauritius; and if we may believe the Governor-general of India, Mr. Bird, one of the council, Captain Wilkinson, agent of the Governor-general on the south-western frontier, or J. Davidson, Esq., another of the company's servants—so far from there being any desire, there is a manifest reluctance, on the part of the Indian population generally, to emigrate to foreign lands. The proposed repeal of the prohibitory act, therefore, cannot be grounded on the wish of the native population of India to leave their homes,—it must rest entirely on the desire of the Mauritian planters to obtain them.

The noble lord further says, "It is evident from the report of Sir Lionel Smith, that the urgency of the demand is triumphing over the mere legal obstacles which interdict immigration; and that therefore, the existing law must be made more stringent or relaxed." Here again, we say there is no official evidence yet before the public in support of this statement; on the contrary, Sir Lionel Smith states, that, in the case of the emigrants attempted to be introduced in contravention of the prohibitory act, through the French settlement of Pondicherry, he has taken effectual measures to prevent it in future.

Disapproving, as we do, of the whole measure, on grounds which we shall presently state, we may be permitted, nevertheless, to remark on some of its highly objectionable details.

We deeply regret to perceive that Lord Stanley has not thought fit to insist, that, of the Coolies in future to be introduced into Mauritius, there shall be a due proportion of the sexes. All

that his lordship says upon this vital point is, that, "among the regulations thus to be established [by the Indian government,] will probably be such as may be requisite for maintaining a due proportion of sexes, and for the prevention of the improper separation of families, or the desertion of helpless women and children." Why should that be left to probability which ought to be made peremptory? Sir Lionel Smith states, that the Coolies already introduced, "have given themselves up to a degree of disgraceful licentiousness, which no person acquainted with their character and habits in India, (dissolute as they are known to be,) could possibly believe." Will the government sanction the increase of an evil so revolting as this, by the further introduction of any disproportionate number of males? Will not the house of commons again interpose to prevent this and other enormous evils connected with Coolie emigration?

In the schedule, which accompanies the order in council, we find no provision made for a medical man to accompany the emigrants from India to Mauritius. This for a voyage of from three to five weeks, we judge to be a most material omission. In the regulations for the supply of water and food to the emigrants during their voyage, we find that his lordship requires a supply of water to the amount of five gallons per week, and of rice, bread, biscuit, flour, oatmeal, or bread-stuffs, to the amount of seven pounds weight per week of the computed voyage, for every passenger, or the substitution, by the Governor-general of India, of any other articles of food, being in his judgment equivalent thereto. On this arrangement we have to remark, that the quantity of water should be at least one gallon *per diem* for each passenger, and that the amount of food is wholly inadequate to the proper support of life. If his lordship had consulted the schedule of the Free-labour Association, he would find the following scale of rations as the daily allowance of Indians above ten years of age, viz.:—rice, 1 lb. 10 oz. avoirdupois, dholl or salt fish, 3 oz., ghee,  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz., salt,  $\frac{1}{4}$  oz.; and if he compares this with the amount of food provided for the Coolies in Mauritius, he will find it to be little more than half the quantity considered necessary for their subsistence there, the average being 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. of rice *per diem*, with other articles in proportion. We trust his lordship will feel it his duty, should his plan come into operation, greatly to enlarge his scale, and to add to the rice or bread-stuffs such condiments as may be necessary to render them at all events palatable. We venture to suggest also to the noble lord, the necessity of providing that the food taken on board, for the use of the emigrants, shall be of good merchantable quality.

Although we have made these remarks on the details of Lord Stanley's plan, we must not be considered as approving it in its general features. Our objections to the entire measure remain in full force.

No one, who is at all informed upon the subject, can pretend that the natives of India have any wish to resort to Mauritius, however deplorable their condition may be in some extensive districts at home. The assertion that they would be generally benefited by the measure, we deny. There is not a superabundant population in British India; and we venture to think, that, were a series of enlightened, humane, and comprehensive laws, substituted for those which now exist, and the present system of misgovernment abandoned, much would be done towards removing the misery which prevails in that country. Neither can any one pretend that the Mauritian planters are persons to whom, the welfare of the Coolies may be safely entrusted. Their history is too well known to the people of this country to permit the expectation that they will treat them with humanity and justice. Even Sir Lionel Smith, who is quoted as an authority by Lord Stanley for his measure, says, in reference to them, "I have seen too much of the sacrifice of human life and human happiness in the production of sugar, to enable me to confide heartily in a class of men, allied so recently to such frightful systems," and "still mourning over the loss of their slaves."

In conclusion, we earnestly call upon the legislature to pause before they give their sanction to Lord Stanley's scheme, or allow themselves to be led away by the idea, that it is required as an act of justice to our Indian population. Let them remember that the destiny, for weal or woe, of multitudes of their fellow-men depends upon their decision. Above all, let them remember that it is their duty to protect the ignorant against the wiles of the crafty, the helpless against the strength of the powerful, the poor against the cupidity of the rich: and by their responsibility to God as well as to man, let them decide justly in this important matter.



MEMORIAL TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD  
STANLEY, &c.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have learned with deep regret, that it is the intention of Her Majesty's government to relax the restrictions, at present in force in British India, against the export of Hill Coolies and other Indian labourers, so far as Mauritius is concerned, and to allow free importation of that class of persons into that island.

The Committee are aware that your lordship intends, by certain regulations, to take effect in India, and on the voyage thence to Mauritius, to guard against some of the frightful evils which accompanied the introduction of Indian labourers into that colony previous to the passing of the Prohibitory Act in 1839; but they would respectfully observe to your lordship, that nothing which has transpired since that period has reconciled them to the measure which your lordship proposes should be adopted, and which, if carried into effect, they believe will be accompanied by evils far greater than appears to be contemplated, or against which it will be possible to guard.

Were the object of the measure recommended by your lordship to secure to the labouring population of India a right which had been unwisely or unjustly taken from them, the Committee trust they would be found among its most earnest and zealous supporters; but when they perceive that its necessary consequence is, to withdraw that protection which the supreme government of India judged to be absolutely necessary to guard them from impositions, the most fraudulent, and treatment the most cruel, they feel it to be their duty to take the earliest opportunity of expressing to your lordship their decided objection to the proposed revocation of the existing law.

The Committee would venture to remind your lordship, that what the Indian government conceived to be necessary, the House of Commons, in the session of 1840, affirmed to be so, by a decided vote taken on the proposition of your lordship's predecessor in office, which was similar to that now before the country.

Subsequently to that period, a large amount of official evidence on the subject of Coolie emigration has been laid before parliament, which not only convinces the Committee of the wisdom and humanity of the course pursued both in India and in England on the subject, but which confirms them in the opinion, that, under present circumstances, there ought to be no relaxation in the restrictions which exist, except, perhaps, in the case of skilled labourers or artisans, who, on their own proper account, may desire to emigrate to other countries to better their condition.

Your lordship's measure appears to be grounded on the fact, that in Mauritius "a constant and large demand for labour exists;" on the alleged charge that the emancipated slaves "are addicted to idle, vagrant, and unprofitable habits;" on the assumption that "many of (the Coolies) who have already fulfilled their contracts in Mauritius, have returned to India, and having visited their families, and deposited with them the amount of their accumulations, would gladly enter into fresh engagements, were they not debarred by the existing law;" and on the opinion which your lordship entertains of being able to guard against abuses by certain regulations intended to be enforced in connexion with the emigration of labourers from British India.

On the first point, the question may arise, whether there be not a sufficient supply of labour in Mauritius to keep up, and gradually to extend, the sugar cultivation of the colony. The Committee are not convinced that there is not; but even if they were, they must protest against that being considered a sufficient ground for the introduction of Indian labourers into it. Labour is wanted in other British colonies for the same purpose, but your lordship very properly, as they think, refuses them that which it is intended shall be granted to Mauritius.

In reference to the alleged charge of indolence, brought against the emancipated classes, they have yet to be convinced of its truth; but if it were true, that there is an unwillingness on their part to work for the planters, the Committee think that it may be found to originate in other causes than those laid to their account, namely, the past conduct of their masters, which, by the returns made to parliament, is proved to have been more fraudulent, cruel, and atrocious than that of any other slave colony of the crown; and the supercession of their labour, by that of the Coolies brought into the colony, under contracts for lengthened periods of time, at extremely low wages, under the pretence of the exorbitant demands of the negroes, and the attempt thus to coerce them. If, after having been driven from the land they formerly cultivated as slaves, they engage in desultory labour only, the Committee are persuaded that the cause will be found lying at the planters' door, rather than at theirs, and forms no just ground, in their judgment, why Indian labourers should be introduced into that colony.

But it is assumed, that the Indian labourers who have returned home with their earnings, are desirous of renewing their engagements in Mauritius, which they are debarred from doing under existing laws. So far as the papers already laid before parliament refer to this point, it does not appear that many are willing to return to the scene of their former labours, but the contrary. Three only positively state their intention to return, and these are Sirdars; and were evidently sent to Calcutta rather as decoys, than as truthful witnesses of what they knew to be the actual condition of the labourers in that colony. Adverting to this point, Mr. Bird, of the Supreme Council of India, observes:—

"I do not place much reliance on the testimony of the Coolies who have lately returned from Mauritius;" and adds, "I am not satisfied with the summary manner in which the examinations have been taken by the chief magistrate, who appears throughout in the character of a partizan arguing in favour of the Coolie trade." As to the general reluctance of the natives of India to leave their homes, the most conclusive testimony is borne to that fact by some of the highest officers of the Indian government; and that the prohibitory law is not felt to trench on their rights or wishes, is clear from the statement of the late Governor-general himself, who distinctly says, "I do not believe that this law is yet felt as pressing hardly on the rights of the natives of India;" and he farther observes, "It was upon no understood practice and only through the busy intervention of an active agency, that the first emigrants were led to seek their fortunes in Mauritius." Thus, then, it appears to the Committee, that with but few exceptions, not only those who have returned to India from the Mauritius, express no desire or intention to return thither, but the population generally have either no wish to leave India, or are opposed to it.

It is, however, believed by your lordship that emigration from India to Mauritius may be so regulated as to prevent fraud, and punish injustice, and to make it advantageous to the Indian labourer to resort thither. The experience of the past would seem to prevent the indulgence of this hope. Lord Auckland in his minute of the 15th April, 1841, gives it as his opinion that "no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons, helpless from their poverty, and from their utter ignorance and inexperience;" and that no dependence can be placed on the police is evident from what his lordship adds; namely, that "it is but too true that this branch of our service is most defective and ineffective, and the different experiments which have been tried for its reform, have ended in disappointment." And as a practical measure, Lord Auckland would so far relax the prohibition, as to permit the "skilful artizan, or the man of calculating enterprise," to emigrate. Beyond this it does not appear that his lordship would feel disposed to go.

They are persuaded that even if your lordship were able to secure the object contemplated by the regulations in British India, which the committee believe to be impracticable, it would be impossible to secure justice to the labourers in the Mauritius. The want of laws to provide proper shelter for them on estates; the want of hospitals under proper regulations and control in the various districts in which they might be located; the want of a due proportion of the sexes, which has led to the most frightful demoralization among those already there; the want of a due sense of moral obligation, so often and so shamefully manifested by the great body of the planters of that colony; but, above all, the want of an intelligent, active, and truly independent magistracy, to administer with impartiality and firmness wholesome and just laws, lead the committee but to one conclusion; namely, that it is their duty respectfully to state to your lordship, that they are entirely opposed to the revocation of the prohibitory law, and earnestly to entreat Her Majesty's government to withdraw the proposed measure.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

27, New Broad Street, London,  
Feb. 28th, 1842.

## PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The humble petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sheweth,—That your petitioners respectfully call the attention of your honourable house, to the proposed relaxation of the law prohibiting the exportation of labourers from British India, so far as the same affects Mauritius, a measure similar to that which your honourable house decidedly negatived in the session of 1840.

Your petitioners would remind your honourable house of the dreadful mortality which up to the period of its prohibition had marked the emigration of Coolies to that island, a mortality which it is stated was equal, in Port Louis, to from eight to nine per cent., and in the country, to from ten to eleven per cent. per annum; and to the disgraceful frauds which had been practised on a multitude of ignorant and helpless people.

Your petitioners would also call your attention to the frightful demoralization which has resulted from the introduction of a vast number of males into that colony, and from the opposition which appears to have been given to their religious instruction.

Your petitioners would further bring under the consideration of your honourable house the recorded opinion of the late Governor-general of India, that no regulations, however stringent, and no watchfulness on the part of the authorities, however vigilant, can prevent oppressions and deceits from being practised on the labourers, who may be induced to emigrate to Mauritius.

Your petitioners would also call your attention to the general state of the laws, and the administration of justice, in the Mauritius, as affording no guarantee of fair and honourable treatment to immigrants on that island.

For these reasons, among others, your petitioners entreat your honourable house not to sanction the revocation of said prohibitory law, which they believe to be both wise and humane,



and absolutely necessary to protect the Indian labourers from the recurrence of those evils, which the friends of humanity, the government, and the legislature, have had such just cause to deplore and condemn.

And your petitioners, &c.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,  
J. H. TREDGOLD.

27, New Broad Street, London,  
February 28th, 1842.

#### FATAL RIOTS IN KINGSTON, JAMAICA.

Extracts of letters to JOSEPH STURGE.

Spanish Town, Jamaica, October 30th, 1841.

DURING the last twelve months the island has, with very few exceptions, been in a state of profound tranquillity so far as regards the disputes between planters and labourers, all parties have found their proper level, and a tolerably good understanding subsists between them. The unprecedented drought with which the island had been afflicted, has had no small share in leading to that result; both employers and employed were heavy sufferers by that calamity, and their joint misfortunes induced mutual concessions and forbearance, much of evil, however, still remains to be corrected. Since the month of May last we have been blessed with abundance of rain, and the entire surface is teeming with vegetation, the ensuing crop bids fair to be a very ample one.

The labouring population are in the most striking manner falsifying the planters' loud predictions respecting their conduct. The sloth and idleness which were imputed to them by anticipation, turns out a mere dream of fancy. The mass of the people are truly industrious; and, I am persuaded, there is as much labour performed in the island in the aggregate, as ever there was in slavery; the failure in the last two years' crops is not attributable to want of labour, but solely to the calamitous drought with which the country has been afflicted.

So far as steady industry, sobriety, and honesty of conduct, and mild and peaceable demeanour are concerned, the "grand experiment" has in this island, not only perfectly succeeded, but has proved an universal and unalloyed blessing.

In some parts of the country there is still a cry out for want of labour; the real want, however, is confined to a very limited number of estates in particular localities, and in most instances, originating in the gross mismanagement or tyrannical conduct of the parties themselves: the great bulk of the planters find no difficulty in procuring all the labour they require, if prepared with the means of paying the regular market price for it; great numbers have not the necessary command of cash, and unwilling to confess their own poverty, dishonestly impute their failure to deficiency in the labour market.

The true meaning of the outcry of the planters is not that labour is deficient, but that cheap labour is required; they declare that one shilling, or one shilling and sixpence per day, is more than they can afford; they flatter themselves that by means of transmigration they may reduce the market price to sixpence or nine pence per day—a palpable delusion—if they would even succeed in introducing fifty thousand immigrants, I am persuaded it would not be the means of reducing the price of labour one penny.

January 6th, 1842.

I had written thus far two months ago, intending to have given you a pretty lengthy account of the present state of matters here; but I was prevented by a variety of circumstances from going on, chiefly the incessant and arduous duties (professional) I have to go through; and, subsequently, by the alarming illness of two of my children, whom I nearly lost.

Within the last two weeks events have occurred which render it necessary for me to alter my plan: to lay aside all minor subjects, and confine myself to one which is likely to engross a large share of public attention.

The present packet carries home the particulars of one of the most frightful tragedies that has occurred in this part of the British dominions for many years; several of the peaceable inhabitants have been brutally murdered in cold blood, and a number of others have been more or less dangerously wounded by a ruffian and lawless band of policemen; and will it be believed, that this dreadful outrage originated not in any political outbreak on the part of the people—not in any attempt to molest the persons or property of any parties; but, simply, because the people insisted on enjoying their usual drumming and dancing during the Christmas festival, and resisted and resented the attempts of the police to put them down? Yes, such was the offence which led to the atrocious scene I am about to detail. I trust that the earnest attention of every humane man in the kingdom will be directed to this subject; and I warmly hope that the best energies of the anti-slavery party will be roused into activity, to the end that the unprincipled perpetrators may be dragged to justice, and the lives and liberties of the people henceforward be duly protected.

I must premise by observing that the people of England must take up the matter. Justice will not be done here; a mock investigation is about to be instituted; but judging from the unvarying issue of all such proceedings heretofore, the murderers will go scathless, whilst the friends and companions of the victims will be visited with the heaviest penalties of the law. In all such cases there is not a shadow of justice for the black man; our courts and juries are uniformly leagued against him.

But in order that you may clearly comprehend the case in all its bearings, I will briefly allude to some circumstances intimately connected with the history of the transaction.

You are aware that in these islands, even in the iron days of slavery, the Christmas festival has been always marked as a season of license, during which the lower orders were indulged with a degree of liberty amounting to licentiousness; the control of the master was suspended, and every encouragement given to the wildest and most extravagant scenes of mirth and revelry, they were not only permitted but encouraged to go in procession through the streets and lanes, accompanied by drums and fifes, and other noisy instruments, dancing in the most grotesque and ludicrous manner, the leaders being dressed up in masquerade attire of all descriptions. This was called "John Canoeing;" the custom has prevailed

upwards of 150 years without the slightest interruption, it was always held dangerous to attempt even to abridge its duration in slavery. That the mummery and folly, and sometimes the licentiousness of these scenes were painfully unpleasant and disgusting to the thinking portion of the community may readily be imagined; and so are many of the amusements of the lower classes even in England. But here the custom was rapidly wearing out, and in a year or two more, I am persuaded, it would have altogether ceased; but I now fear that the persecution which has been so ruthlessly carried on, will have the effect of prolonging its existence. The practice is confessedly an evil, but it is an evil which has been sanctioned by the universal consent of every section of the community from time immemorial; and I firmly maintain that this custom so sanctioned, created a prescriptive right in the people, of which they could not legally be deprived, except by a specific and direct legislative enactment. I particularly advert to this point, because it appears to have been assumed by the judges in a late trial that the suppression of these amusements was legal; an opinion which I am pretty certain would be entirely subverted on reference to the twelve judges of England.

I come now to speak of the consequences which have arisen out of the attempt to suppress these street exhibitions.

A few days before the last Christmas holidays, (of 1840-41) Mr. Hector Mitchel, the mayor of Kingston, issued a private order to the police to prevent all drumming and dancing in the streets during the holidays; this order he issued without consulting any of his brother magistrates, or even informing them that he had done so. He quotes as his authority for this arbitrary mandate, one of the loose enactments of a law very significantly termed, the "Omnium Gatherum Act;" an act framed in so slovenly a manner, so full of absurdities and incongruities that the judges have declared it to be altogether unsafe to carry any of its provisions into practice.

This act in specifying divers nuisances, such as throwing rubbish and manure into the streets, rolling barrels through the streets, flying kites, &c. &c.; also declares all drumming and noisy disturbances in the streets to be unlawful, and directs how they are to be dealt with, and this is the contemptible authority on which Mitchel presumed to order the forcible suppression of a clearly defined privilege, which had been recognized and allowed by all the successive authorities without molestation or hindrance for upwards of a century and a half. Another peculiar feature in the case is, that this law had been in existence several years, but was never invoked against these Christmas festivities until last year, although Mitchel had held the office of mayor during that period. In carrying into execution Mitchel's orders, the police seized on the drums, &c., and took several of the drummers into custody, and lodged them in the cage—the people became excited, a large body assembled before the store of Mr. Daniel Hart, a respectable merchant, proprietor of a large estate, and a magistrate of the city, one in whom the people have great confidence—they appealed to him whether the police had any right to interfere with their customary amusements. Hart, after consulting with several of his brother magistrates, declared that there was no law forbidding the usual Christmas festivities, and ordered the police not to interfere with them—the police, however, immediately afterwards again seized the drums and took up the drummers—some of the magistrates again called on the police to desist, but in vain—the populace began to lose temper, and a riot was apprehended. At this juncture a number of magistrates assembled at the court-house, and proposed to call a meeting of magistrates to consider on the means of preventing the peace of the town from being disturbed. Mitchel was invited to preside on the occasion—he refused to attend, but sent word that he had recalled the obnoxious order which had created the disturbance. Hart then called out to the people that they were at liberty to dance and drum as usual. The magistrates compelled the police to release the people they had taken up, and to restore their instruments. In the course of the day several trifling skirmishes occurred between the police and the people, but not the slightest damage was done—it was chiefly confined to abusive language and threats—subsequently the mob assembled before Mitchel's door, and vented their indignation in loud yells and execrations—they were immediately dispersed by Meresby, one of the magistrates, who was afterwards tried for inciting the people to riot. Such is a plain history of what was afterwards magnified into a serious tumult.

Mitchel, stung to the quick by the opposition of Hart, and the other liberal magistrates, caused a criminal prosecution on his own personal responsibility to be instituted against him, for a conspiracy to create a riot, encouraging tumultuous assemblages, inciting to a breach of the peace, &c. The trial came on in August last, before Mr. Dougal, one of the newly-created legal judges, and a nicely packed (special) jury of the old school; Mr. Dougal throughout the trial conducted himself as though he were counsel for the prosecutor; he had not even the common sense and discretion to conceal his partiality. Incredible as it may appear, he actually allowed Mitchel, the open and avowed prosecutor in the cause, to sit on the bench beside him during the whole trial, and was constantly holding private conversation with him as the trial proceeded—you may guess the result. Hart and three of his brother magistrates were found guilty, their sentence was postponed till October, when they were brought up before the supreme court. It was generally supposed that the sentence would not extend beyond a small pecuniary fine; but to the amazement of all parties it turned out one of the heaviest that we have on record. Mr. Dougal, who pronounced the judgment of the court, after addressing the prisoner at the side bar, in a speech replete with brutal invective and insult, sentenced Hart to be imprisoned in the common gaol for three months, and to pay a fine of £200. sterling. Messrs. Salom and Quall to two months imprisonment and £100. fine each. But Meresby, in consequence of his producing letters as to general character and conduct, from certain merchants of Kingston, was let off with a simple fine of £50., even in this case betraying their gross partizanship. I will not attempt to describe the intense sensation which this infamous sentence produced in the community; the warmest sympathies even of the enemies of the parties were aroused on their behalf; petitions unanimously signed by persons of every shade of political opinion, were poured in upon the executive. These petitions were referred to the judges, but with the same bad feeling which had marked the commencement of the proceedings, they pointedly refused to give their sanction to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy; and the governor, in consequence I believe against his own strong convictions declined interfering.

I must not however longer dwell on these points, but you will readily



perceive that we are threatened with a reign of judicial tyranny; which, if not speedily checked by the loud and indignant voice of public opinion, may be the means of crushing some of the most important privileges of our new-born freedom. If such flagrant injustice can be exercised against the friends of the people, what sort of justice can the people themselves expect.

I come now to speak of the particulars of the tragic scenes which were recently enacted in Kingston. Hector Mitchel appears to have made up his mind to carry his point at all hazards, and I pray you to mark the extraordinary measures by which he deliberately sought to accomplish it, without consulting with any of his brother magistrates, he a short time before the commencement of the holidays, issued the following brief notice:—

"The police will prevent all drumming and noisy disturbances. Hector Mitchel, Mayor." The arrogance of this imperial edict needs no comment. He next concerted his plans with the chief inspector of police, M'Leod. To give you an idea of the character of this person, and to show how well fitted he was to become the tool of Mitchel, I need but mention that in October, whilst giving his evidence in the court, respecting a street row between the police and a mob in Spanish Town, in which the police had been routed; he (M'Leod,) told the court it was well that he heard it reported that night, that one of the people had been killed in the skirmish with the police, because but for that report he should have turned the police out again, as they then had their arms, to have another trial with the people. I regret to say that this expression of blood-thirsty feeling passed unapproved by the court.

Mitchel on his own responsibility and at his own expense, purchased thirty or forty saddles and bridles for the use of the police, and hired the like number of horses for their service; thus allowing the legal character of the police, by converting them into the horse-patrol, in defiance of positive enactments. He next hired some unoccupied premises adjoining his own place of business, and converted them into stables and barracks for the police. He next induced M'Leod to commit another breach of law by drawing off a portion of the police from the adjoining parishes to act in Kingston, and the entire body were furnished with an ample supply of ball cartridges; all this was done without any application being made for the governor's sanction, which the law strictly enjoins as indispensable.

These formidable preparations clearly indicate that Mr. Hector Mitchel had firmly resolved that bloodshed should follow the slightest resistance to his arbitrary and illegal manifesto—Christmas day passed off in quietude as a day of religious observance, but the mounted police were to be seen parading all parts of the town; on Monday, the people learned that in Spanish Town, the usual festivities were being carried on without molestation, they determined to make the attempt to claim their privileges. By way of trial, a man with a fiddle (which he could not play) and another with a tambourine appeared in the large square called the parade, followed by a parcel of young people, singing and shouting in their usual manner, a body of police galloped up and seized the fiddler, and conveyed him before a magistrate, by whom I believe he was forthwith sentenced to the House of Correction. This event produced a good deal of excitement. A large crowd quickly assembled on the parade, and loud expressions of discontent were uttered. A parcel of boys and women assembled in the church-yard and commenced pelting the police as they passed, they were compelled to fly down the street; in their flight they were met by the inspector, the sub-inspector, and a re-inforcement of police, M'Leod called out "turn back my boys, and I will head you," they did turn back, and a desperate charge was made on the people, but they were again assailed with stones and broken bottles; I believe it was at this juncture, the police fired among the people, but with blank cartridge, this of course only tended to aggravate the passions of the people. The police were again compelled to retreat within the walls of the military barrack. The crowd on the parade rapidly increased to the amount of some thousands, the greater part, however, being mere spectators. Hector Mitchel and some other magistrates made their appearance, as might be expected the sight of Mitchel increased the commotion, he was attacked and compelled to retreat to the officers' quarters. One of the magistrates, Mr. G. B. Smith, made an attempt to read the riot act, in doing so, he received a slight wound on one of his fingers. I am particular in specifying these minute details, to show the extent to which the people had gone before the tragedy commenced. After the reading of the riot act, which I believe not one in five hundred heard or knew the meaning of, the people remained perfectly quiet, standing in detached groups, talking over the occurrences of the evening; the military were ordered out, and formed in line, they then fired a *feu de joie* with blank cartridge, pointing their guns upwards. The moment the firing ceased, although the riot act had not been read more than ten or fifteen minutes, and the people were standing perfectly quiet. Inspector M'Leod gave orders to the police to charge upon the people, and at the same time he was heard to call out, "by virtue of my commission as a magistrate, in and over this island, I order you to fire!" In an instant they galloped amongst the crowd pistols in hand, and fired right and left amongst an unarmed multitude. Two or three were killed on the spot, and ten or twelve wounded, of whom several I understand have since died! Two who were shot to death were respectable young men who had nothing to do with the affair, but had merely come out to ascertain the cause of the disturbance—one was recently married, another of the victims was a poor woman far advanced in pregnancy, but what cared the brutal and ferocious police for age, sex, or condition! The terrific confusion which ensued, may be more easily conceived than described—the most serious apprehensions were entertained, that in the exasperated state of popular feeling, the entire town would be set on fire by the infuriated people. The drums beat to arms, and the militia were turned out and guards appointed in different parts of the town. By eleven o'clock, P.M., the entire crowd had dispersed, and the town became quiet. The next morning the indignant feelings of the people were again manifested—whenever a policeman was seen in the streets, a hue-and-cry was set up, and he was compelled to fly. Mitchel in passing down one of the principal streets was assailed, and with difficulty escaped, for the remainder of the day he was obliged to remain on board a vessel in the harbour. In one instance the police had taken a man into custody, and by some means he escaped out of their hands—instead of pursuing the fugitive, one of them deliberately raised his gun to his shoulder and fired at the man—he missed his object, but the ball took effect on a poor woman, who was standing in the balcony of a

house! I cannot in the compass of a letter detail all the atrocities that were perpetrated on this occasion. But I appeal to every friend of humanity and justice in England, whether these shall be permitted with impunity! Is it right that human beings should be slaughtered like pigs in the street, merely because they persist in amusing themselves in a manner sanctioned by long established custom and universal consent? Is it right that any one man should possess or exercise such tremendous authority, as has been done by the unprincipled despot Mitchel? I trust that the question will be taken up in parliament, that the official papers relating to the subject will be moved for, and government urged to some energetic steps. I repeat it, justice is not to be expected on this side the water—it must come from home. The cold-blooded miscreants who have committed these foul murders, not only remain unpunished, but are stalking about with heads proudly erect, as though they had been engaged in some meritorious service. We are weak and powerless here on behalf of the poor and oppressed, I claim the benevolent exertions of yourself and friends towards securing full protection to the lives and liberties of the helpless and innocent victims of misrule.

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received the admirable article on the *Creole* affair, as it appears in a Dublin journal, but too late for insertion. We must not allow so spirited a production to remain unnoticed.

A copy of the important letter of E. S. Abdy, Esq., has been forwarded to one of our friends now in Paris, with a request that he will inquire and report. On the return of our friends, we shall be in a position to do more justice to the important subject to which Mr. Abdy has very properly called attention.

The letter of "HUMANITAS" has reached us, and while we have no reason to doubt the accuracy of his startling statements; yet as these statements seriously affect the character of individuals, we cannot become responsible for the publication of them, unless we are made acquainted with the writer. Will "HUMANITAS" communicate with us, confidentially, if he please?

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

### Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 9TH.

#### DEPUTATION TO PARIS.

WE have the gratification to announce the safe arrival in Paris of most of those friends who were deputed to attend the public meeting of the French Society, for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies and throughout the world. The following gentlemen had arrived on the morning of Saturday last:—Josiah Forster, G. W. Alexander, J. Scoble, B. Wiffen, and J. H. Hinton, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. Joseph Sturge, deputed from Birmingham; Dr. Madden and Mr. Corkran, from Dublin; T. Harvey, from Glasgow; B. Godwin, from Oxford; Edward Cropper, from Liverpool; Edward Foster, from Cambridge; H. Taylor, from Woodbridge; Thomas Scales, from Leeds; and F. Wheeler, from Rochester. Some other gentlemen were expected to arrive during the course of the day. Our readers will have learned from the ordinary sources of information, that the public meeting intended to have taken place on Monday, the 7th instant, has been either prohibited or adjourned by an official intimation from the French government. Instead of speculating on the causes or the consequences of this unexpected interference;—a measure which has drawn public attention through the medium of the French press, to the great purposes which the meeting was intended to subserve,—we deem it more judicious to wait for that full information which the return of the English deputies will place in our hands. In the mean time, we by no means regret, that our friends have gone to Paris on this philanthropic mission. While there, they will have many opportunities of aiding the abolitionists of France with their friendly counsels, and of proposing those salutary courses of action which Divine Providence has so signally blessed in their own nation. We entirely concur, therefore, in the following opinion expressed in the letter of an intelligent correspondent now in Paris. "You will see that the circumstances under which we assemble, do not exactly correspond with our expectations; but the deputies who have had an opportunity of expressing their sentiments, are far from regretting, that they have undertaken the journey, or from apprehending that no good will result from it."



# EMIGRATION OF HILL COOLIES AND OTHER INDIAN LABOURERS INTO THE MAURITIUS.

WE have devoted a considerable portion of our pages in the present number to the insertion of documents relating to the vitally important question of the proposed immigration of Hill Coolies and other classes of Hindoos into Mauritius. We refer to the review of Lord Stanley's despatches as they were presented to the house of commons,—the memorial presented to his lordship by a deputation from the Committee; and a copy of the petition from the Committee presented to the house of commons some evenings ago, by Sir Eardly Wilmot. These documents will prove, that the Committee are alive to the importance of a measure involving alike the interests of Hindoos and of the emancipated negroes in the Mauritius; and that they have resolved to use all constitutional means to arrest this measure in its progress. The more we reflect on the proposal of Lord Stanley, the more deeply are we convinced that if carried into effect, it will be fraught with injury, not only to the Hill Coolies and other natives of India who may thus be induced to leave their father land; but also to the injured and long oppressed, but now happily emancipated negroes, whom these emigrants are intended to supplant. It is a singular fact, that when a measure was introduced by Lord John Russell on the subject, Lord Stanley and his present colleagues gave to that measure the most strenuous opposition, and that from this and other causes, that measure was happily withdrawn. Is it said, the measures are not identical—they are different in many of their features! True, in some things they are different; but the two measures are essentially the same in principle, they differ only in matters of detail. All the objections which the Committee ever urged against the principle of the measure which Lord John Russell formerly withdrew, they are constrained to urge against the measure which Lord Stanley, now proposes to submit for the sanction of the British government.

Nor can we forget, that even if the former conduct of the planters in any colony entitle them to any boon—a position we hold to be utterly untenable—the former conduct, and we fear we must add, the present conduct of the planters of Mauritius denudes them of all claim to any such boon. In no colony was slavery clothed in more fearful horrors, in none did it shed more human blood, in none was it more firmly resolved to maintain its deadly hold, in none did it longer maintain its dying struggle, than in the Mauritius. All this is known, is acknowledged by all, except the ignorant and the prejudiced: and, yet, the abettors of these wrongs, the men who profited by the tears, and toils, and blood of their fellow-men, are the men for whose alleged convenience, for whose unproved want of labourers, we are required to make provision, by decoying from their families and homes, the untaught, unskilled, uncivilized mountaineers of Hindostan.

Besides, what will be the necessary effect of the proposed measure on the negro population of Mauritius itself? Why not employ them? they are on the spot—no agent will be required to collect them—no vessels needed to transport them across the seas—no provisions will be requisite for their supply during a long voyage! They are in the colony. Why not employ them, and pay them for their labour? It is said they are unwilling to labour. Have they been tried—we mean fairly tried? They were tried with the whip—have they been fairly tried by the offer of just wages—the promise of a fair and competent support? If not, try them now. Refuse not to pay for the honest industry of the *freemen*, whose labour you so long coerced while they were slaves. “Do justice,” in reference to your own population, and give them employment in your colony. “Love mercy,” in reference to the Hindoos, and leave them in their own land. If, ye planters of Mauritius! you are determined to pursue your present course, we must beg to remind you, that the voice of British freemen compelled you to own the Majesty of British law, and to emancipate, very reluctantly on your part, your unhappy slaves; and now the same free nation will place the axis of its just and impartial laws, over the whole of your emancipated population. Your land has been stained with the blood of captured Africans; we cannot consent that it be further stained with the blood of decoyed Asiatics!

To the tried and trusty friends of the cause throughout the United Kingdom, we now earnestly appeal to do their duty in this important matter. Let them remember, that in a few short days, this obnoxious measure will be tested in the commons house of parliament—let them forward petitions, numerous signed, to that house, and addresses to their representatives; and this done, they will have the happy consciousness of knowing that they have discharged an important obligation.

FATAL OUTRAGE IN KINGSTON, JAMAICA.—We referred in our last number to a fatal attack made by the police on the populace in Kingston: an attack which ended in the loss of several lives. We are now able to give in another column, minute details of this massacre, from the pen of an esteemed correspondent in the island. And we need only add, that the accuracy of our correspondent's statements is fully proved, not only by an able speech delivered by Mr. Russell, in the Jamaica legislature, but also by the admissions of the colonial minister in the British parliament. The case is one of the most outrageous proceedings which has recently come before us; and we are happy to find that Lord Stanley has announced a government investigation of the whole affair. Until we hear something of the results of this investigation, we refrain from any further comment.

PROPOSED REDUCTION OF LABOURER'S WAGES IN JAMAICA AND DEMERARA.—Great excitement has been caused in the colony of Demerara, and also in the parish of St. Mary's, Jamaica, by a combination among the planters and their agents, to reduce the price of wages. We refer to the resolutions inserted in another column, and copied from public journals in these islands. There is one argument employed by the honest labourers in arguing against the reduction of their wages, which it will be no easy matter for the planters to answer. They say, very quietly, and very conclusively:—Gentlemen, you say your expenditure exceeds your income, the cost of producing your sugar crop exceeds the sum for which you can sell it to the purchaser, and of course, you add, we must reduce our expenditure,—granted; but why reduce our wages, and our wages only! Why begin with the labourers! Why leave all the managers and all the overseers in the undisturbed possession of their large and liberal incomes; while we, the labourers, are alone doomed to the necessity of submitting to the large reductions you propose? Is it generous, is it honourable, is it fair, is it just to deprive us of the means of procuring the necessities of life, we who bear the burden and heat of the day; while our managers and overseers are furnished with the means of procuring so many of the luxuries of life! Such is their reasoning, and who can answer it! We shall return to the subject.

## ADDRESS TO THE BEY OF TUNIS.

WE recently announced that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had prepared a congratulatory Address to the Bey of Tunis, in consequence of his conduct in suppressing the nefarious traffic in negro slaves within the territories subject to his authority. That Address has been forwarded through the British government to Sir Thomas Reade, British consul at that regency. The Address, we doubt not, has before now reached its destination, and may therefore with propriety be given to our readers. We subjoin a copy.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have heard with unfeigned satisfaction of the measures which your Highness has adopted for the suppression of the detestable and wicked traffic in negro slaves within the territories subject to your authority.

The great truth, that God hath created all men equal, acknowledged by your Highness and by all civilized princes and people is consonant alike with the dictates of reason, the decisions of conscience, and the claims of religion; and is at once the surest foundation and the best guarantee for the liberty and happiness of individuals, and the peace, prosperity, and stability of nations.

To deprive human beings of their liberty, then is both criminal and impolitic. To restore them to freedom is a duty enforced not less by justice and humanity than by an enlightened policy. May your Highness be led to compassionate the condition of all slaves within your territories, and to set them free; and thus to become an example of wisdom and equity to all rulers on the continent of Africa!

Your Highness is probably aware that the government and people of Great Britain have denounced the slave-trade as a crime of the deepest dye, punishable by the privation of liberty and banishment to a distant part of the empire; and that they have for ever terminated the system of slavery in their colonial dependencies, in different parts of the world, with the happiest results. The abhorrence with which they regard these evils leads them to rejoice in the fact that other nations have either followed or are about to follow their example, and especially to learn that your Highness has commenced this great and good work in the country over which you rule.

This important step the Committee venture to hope will be followed by another still more important, without which they are of opinion your Highness's philanthropic and noble designs cannot be fully consummated, namely, the abolition of slavery itself, the root of the odious and wicked traffic which your Highness is so justly anxious to extirpate.

In conclusion, the Committee express their sincere wish that your Highness may be spared both to perfect the important work which has been so well begun, and to enjoy the blessed fruits thereof to a distant day; to be hailed as the deliverer of the oppressed and the benefactor of your people.

On behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

27, New Broad Street, London,  
January 7th, 1842.

## ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN GERMANY.

THE Germans have no slave-colonies, and yet they are, in numerous cases, proprietors and hirers of slaves. Multitudes of these emigrants, whether permanent settlers or temporary residents, are to be found in the southern states of North America, and in the Brazils. Dr. Julius, in his elaborate and valuable work on the United States, says that the majority of planters in Mississippi consist of his fellow-countrymen. In Nettlebeck's Autobiography (Leipsic, 1821) we are told that Surinam was, in the middle of the last century, rather a German than a Dutch colony. On the plantations as well as in Paramaribo, out of one hundred whites nearly ninety-nine were Germans. Some of these honest and good people, if we may judge from recent events in Hamburg, are equally anxious to engage in the slave-trade. Dr. Follen states in his letters (published in the *Friedhafen*, an Altona periodical), that his brother, though expressly warned by him against Arkansas as a slave-holding state, chose that part of North America for



the place of his abode. Should these men perish during an insurrection of the blacks, what pity would they deserve for a fate to which they have voluntarily exposed themselves? The project for introducing free labour into the Brazils is now under discussion; and, if reports which have appeared in the German papers are to be credited, emissaries from that country, if not already on their way, are about to visit Europe, for the purpose of enlisting recruits in furtherance of this equivocal scheme. Colonization in North or South America on a large scale has been proposed for different parts of Germany, as an outlet for a superabundant population, and a future market for manufactures from the mother country. As certain portions of the Brazilian empire have been recommended by the concoctors of this patriotic enterprise, it would be as well if more information on the subject of slavery, its principles and tendencies, than now prevails, could be communicated to those for whom these plans are intended. An agent from the anti-slavery societies would find ample field for useful exertion in Germany, in correcting public opinion, and checking misrepresentation. Many important facts, too, might be gleaned from the press of that country, correspondents of which are dispersed over every part of the globe. In the *Minerva* (January, 1841), a monthly periodical of Jena, is an article on St. Helena, by A. Hermann. "For cultivating the gardens," he says, "for fishing and housework, the people have blacks, in number about six hundred. They were bought and imported as slaves, contrary to the latest laws. They live in wretched huts, separated from their masters' dwellings." Can this statement be true! In a little work published at Basil in the German language (1841), for the benefit of an institution for the education of missionaries' children, are several passages that refer to the horrors of slavery and the slave-trade, and, as it is addressed to children, the impression it leaves on the mind is likely to be extensive and permanent.

There is too much reason to fear that the new state of Texas is indebted for no small accession to its population, to the falsehoods its friends and emissaries have disseminated over the continent of Europe, in regard to its social and financial situation. The *Leipzig Gazette* has repeatedly warned its readers against these and similar delusions.

The cause of abolition is likely to suffer in no small degree from the calumnies and insinuations of the *Ausland*, a German periodical distinguished by great talent, and replete with various and valuable information. If we are to believe this journal, the sole object of England in emancipating her slaves, has been to embarrass and ruin her maritime enemy. "She is willing," it seems, "to sacrifice her colonies to her jealousies; and the gratification of the one is a full indemnity for the other. We have set an example which must be followed by others, and our commerce on the continent will gain what it has lost in the islands. Freedom to the black man is necessarily ruin to the white; but we can afford to give up our sugar if we can destroy our enemy's cotton." Facts are invented or perverted in support of this ridiculous hypothesis, and a nation for the most part profoundly ignorant, both of colonial matters and of the plainest principles which decide the relation that exists between capital and labour, too readily believes these charges against a people, who, it is gravely told, particularly in the columns of the *Augsburg Gazette*, are the commercial despots of modern times, the destroyers of European industry, and the monopolisers of the world's traffic. Liberty, if left to herself, would have little to fear from her enemies; but, while she is forced into connexion with the scarecrows and bugbears of the day, and brought into an imaginary alliance with those chimeras which the new-born nationality of young Germany has been taught to look upon as a real existence, some effort should be made to separate her cause from the accessories and adjuncts which artful foes and weak-minded friends have thrown round it. Some of the German governments, if I mistake not, have expressed their regret that they could do nothing for the cause of abolition. Their sincerity may easily be tested. Let their representatives at Washington, in conjunction with the ambassadors of other powers, protest in a body against the disgusting traffic in human beings carried on under their eyes, in violation of the courtesies and decencies of civilised society.

E. S. A.

#### COMBINATION TO REDUCE WAGES IN JAMAICA.

St. Mary, 7th January, 1842.

In pursuance of a requisition to his honour the custos, a very numerous meeting took place at the court-house Manning's Town, on Monday, the 3rd inst. Arrangements having been entered into for a full attendance of labourers, a large and respectable number of that body were present, when Mr. James C. Jones was unanimously requested to take the chair, and after having explained to all present, the cause of the meeting being called.

Mr. RICHARD LEWIS rose and said, that on the abolition of the apprenticeship, it was found necessary in order to induce the labourers immediately to go to work; that a very high rate of wages should be offered. The rate then fixed was justified, as they were given for the purpose of bringing the labouring population into habits of industry, and the price of produce was such as enabled the proprietors to meet the expenditure. Since that time other sugars had been allowed to compete with ours in the market, from which, and other causes, prices have been so reduced that proprietors are totally unable to pay the rate of wages now given. This being the case, he called upon the labouring population to take the matter into consideration, and urged upon them the necessity of accepting such wages as the present price of produce would afford, and then proposed the following resolutions:—

1st.—That the price of produce having fallen greatly since the present

rate of wages were established, proprietors can no longer pay such wages, and have written in the strongest terms to their agents, that an immediate reduction must take place, or that they will be compelled to abandon the cultivation of their properties. It is therefore indispensably necessary that this fact be fully explained to the labourers, and that every possible means be adopted to induce them to accept of such wages as the proprietors can afford to give.

2nd.—That to reduce wages, it is requisite that all parties should be unanimous; and it is the duty of every manager to explain to the labourers the necessity of a reduction in order to secure their willing co-operation.

3rd.—That proprietors and managers have ever shewn their willingness to allow the labourers the highest rate of wages that could be afforded; now that necessity compels them to seek a reduction, they look with confidence for the cheerful acceptance on the part of the labourers, of such wages as the reduced price of produce will afford.

4th.—That we consider 1s. sterling per day for first class, and 9d. for second class labourers, is a fair and equitable rate, and that 1s. per week is a fair sum for rent for house and garden.

5th.—That every exertion be used to promulgate these opinions, and induce all parties to be unanimous.

Mr. JAMES GEDDES seconded the resolutions, and at the same time expressed his approbation of, and concurrence in, what had been said by Mr. Lewis, and assured the meeting that he, Mr. Lewis, not only spoke his own sentiments, but those of all owners of property in that parish. That the proprietors generally, in urging a reduction of wages had been entirely silent with respect to rent; but he considered it was only fair that a liberal reduction be made in it, and that under those circumstances he hoped the labourers would cheerfully co-operate and accept such wages as could be afforded.

Mr. WILLIAM LITHERLAND then addressed the meeting and said, that harsh and improper illusions had been made to this meeting, but were those gentlemen who made them present, they would perceive by the respectable body of labourers that had attended, how very unfair and premature their remarks were; and went on to explain that unless the labourers co-operated with the planters, cultivation must very soon cease, and concluded by earnestly exhorting them to take such wages as could be afforded.

Mr. J. W. WHITEHOUSE in alluding to Mr. Litherland's remarks on what had appeared in the public prints said, that he was himself under the impression, that the meeting was called for very different purposes, and was to have been composed solely of proprietors and attorneys, but he was quite convinced, had they known that the labouring population had been requested to assist at the meeting, and had seen the number of respectable persons of that class present, they would, as he did, approve of it.

Mr. GEDDES also observed, that had he not been aware that labourers were to attend and form part of this meeting, he himself would not have been a party to it.

Several respectable labourers then addressed the meeting, and among others, Thomas Robinson, Thomas Addison, &c., who gave it as their firm opinion, that the general welfare of the country depended entirely on the sugar estates being cultivated, but recommended that time should be given for the due consideration of the resolutions.

Mr. ROBERT NELSON, expressed it as his opinion, that the white people had called them there for the purpose of "taking them in," on which the chairman in a mild manner assured him and all present that no such wish existed, but that on the contrary, they had been called there to take part in the meeting and freely to express their own sentiments and protect their own interest.

The resolutions were then read, and after a vote of thanks to the chairman the meeting separated.

#### THE COST OF MAKING SUGAR.

WE find in the *Morning Herald* a notice of a pamphlet (as we suppose, although we have not been able to procure it), by Mr. Ross of Grenada, developing a more efficient and economical mode of cultivating the West Indian staples. We make with pleasure the following extract from the columns of our contemporary, and recommend Mr. Ross's suggestion to the consideration of the planters of Guiana and Trinidad, together with their *Magnus Apollo*, Mr. Burnley:—

African immigration is thought by the planters, adds Mr. Ross, to be "their only chance of escaping from certain ruin;" but such immigration, he truly remarks, must be difficult and slow. "In the meanwhile, what shall the planter do to save himself?" he asks.

"How shall he hope, at least with better chances of success, at the present moment, whatever emigration may hereafter effect, to struggle with the uncertainty of the seasons—the caprice and irregularity of the negro—the annual reduction of his labouring numbers—the contraction of his cultivation, and the altered markets? while, to prop up his fallen fortunes, his wages and expenses are necessarily doubling by the very cause (want of hands) which principally occasions his distress. Assuming African and other emigration to be necessary to his safety—how may he best recommend it to the indulgent consideration of his adversaries, clothing it with a new character? If his estate must needs be a speculation—and one of little or any worth—how shall he make the expenses bear some proportion to the product, whatever that product may be—and thus—in his own defence—following the example of agriculturists 'at home,' establish for himself and his returns some 'sliding scale of protection?'"

The reply to these interrogatories develops Mr. Ross's plan.

"The friendly answer and advice which may here be given is this:—pay no more in wages for the cultivation of the land—reform your entire system—reverse the tables—place yourself on the safe side—instead of paying wages to the negro, let the negro pay you, not in money, but kind, a proportion of the staple products of the land, which, be sure, he now knows well, and will hereafter know still better, how to cultivate to best advantage; throw off the master and become his landlord; trust him, by degrees, as your tenant; identify your interest with his in the land and staple products of the estate; let him clearly see and find his own advancement, credit, and profit in that union; the results will then be far different, *experts credite*, and civilization will gain by that blessed change of system, a surer basis whereon to establish and to elevate both the present and rising generation of labourers; and real freedom for all will then, at



last, be secured, and a new hope may spring up in our now declining colonies; an animating hope! that of effectually conquering slavery throughout the world, by the fair example of complete success in rearing the staple products of our tropical possessions more efficiently, more abundantly and cheaply with free men, than with slaves or hired labourers."

Mr. Ross's scheme is simply that the system of Eastern cultivation should be transferred to the West Indies, that the labourers should be made the partners by becoming the tenants of their masters. Increase the interest of the negro in sugar and coffee culture, and he will no longer think that occupation degrading, or despise the hoe and the cutlass; give to him that motive for perseverance and industry on his master's land which he now has only in his own provision grounds, and the import of West Indian sugar will no longer yearly decline. As a free tenant the negro will expend all his time and have the assistance of all his friends in raising the most profitable produce; he will have no fits of sham sickness, or laziness; he will shew no airs; he will no longer lounge, when he works on his own account, and on land that he can call his own. But Mr. Ross shall give the results, which he himself witnessed on his own coffee estate in Grenada, of his own plan.

"The men have worked with no less vigour and spirit than freedom, at their own hours, in their several allotments, their neighbours and friends reciprocating assistance, as much for society as mutual aid; the wives and daughters and children, now absolved from the continuous routine of estate labour, have never been wanting to their friends and relations, whatever they might have been heretofore to the estate. The talismanic effect of the change even excited, at first, no little merriment among the people themselves, who would often archly report at head-quarters some 'sickly' old ladies, who had suddenly been restored to youth and strength, or other 'weakly' and always 'feeble' subjects, of whom no superintendent could ever obtain two days' continuous labour, who were now seen working wonders with the hoe and cutlass ('making the bush fly,' in negro phrase) in their husbands' new possessions. Many absentees—men, women, and children—were then recognized in the different allotments, lending a free and helping hand to their friends and relations: these had been lost sight of till now, scared away from the cultivation of the staple land by the rigours of continuous labour. They were now but too glad to return (and with very altered manners) to the spots which they had abandoned. The tables were reversed, and the times wonderfully changed. They came to ask for a portion of that easier system which was in course of distribution to their more steady companions and friends; and, for once since the time of freedom, the master ceased to court the labourer for his service.

"It is scarcely necessary to say that sickness no longer existed in the negro vocabulary. But when they were 'sick,' they were positively 'ill,' and at home, requiring domestic comforts, the doctor, and medicine, and that parental solicitude which is ever necessary in such cases, and for which the master is well repaid by the grateful attachment of the negro.

"From the earliest commencement of this new system to the present moment, nothing has ever occurred to raise for an instant a doubt as to the immense superiority which it justly claims for advancing the negro in comfort and civilization, while it settles him happily with his family, promoting industry generally, and steadily concentrating it, with economy of every kind, upon the staple productions of the land. Moreover, were the negro population to quarrel with their own interests (an improbable idea), so far as to shew themselves incapable or unworthy of these advantages, one resource of great value would remain to a proprietor. Into such a system of tenancy, whatever the species of cultivation—but not into the system of wages—Europeans, or more enlightened and civilised labourers, may be incorporated, with every certain prospect of success. If the negro fail or refuse, the European or other immigrant may take his place. But where and how is the negro tenant to better himself? Placed in a position so comfortable, why should he not be anxious to retain it? The purchase or renting of land, the exercise of a trade, or service in towns, can now offer no temptation to the restlessness or to the ambition of the agricultural negro. He has all he wants upon the easiest terms; and he is bound to his lot by his conviction of its superiority over all others."

To this interesting statement we may add a somewhat similar one from a gentleman in the island of St. Lucia, contained in a recent letter from him to Mr. Sturge. It is as follows:—

"An admirable system prevails in St. Lucia, which is worthy of adoption in all other sugar colonies; I mean the cultivation of canes in halves, between employers and labourers. It is done in this way:—the planter allows the labourer to hole and plant, during his extra hours, a certain quantity of land, which the labourer continues thus to cultivate until it arrives at maturity. The canes are then cut down, carried to the mill, and manufactured into sugar, the expense of such cutting, carriage, and manufacture being equally divided between the proprietor and labourer. The sugar which is made is sold, and the proceeds are divided between the parties in equal portions. The molasses which strains from the sugar is allowed to the planter for the use of his machinery. This is a practice which I cannot too highly praise or recommend. It attaches to proprietors a body of industrious sober labourers, on whose services the planter can always rely, as they themselves have an interest in the welfare of the property on which they reside."

We conclude this article by a very gratifying extract from the report of the sub-committee of the Agricultural Society of Trinidad for October last, shewing how the cost of making sugar may be still further reduced, without having recourse to an African slave-trade. The report includes an account transmitted by a proprietor of the successful use of the plough in his sugar-grounds. He had used it in four quarrees, and was about to do so on four more—

"They [the quarrees ploughed] stand me in little more than one-third of what they would have cost if the hoe had been used. The mode of planting adopted was first to turn up, cross-plough, and harrow the whole of the land. The furrows were next run five feet apart, the plough running up and down the same furrow, and throwing the ridge to the right and left alternately, so making the furrow of double breadth. The plants being next thrown in, were afterwards covered by turning half the double ridge on each side over on to them, the plants being entirely covered. The

plants came up well, and did not require much supplying. The common plough was used. I am now preparing four quarrees more in the same manner; and I expect to be able to give the first two weedings also with the plough. One of an improved construction seems to be desirable. The native labourers, by whom almost alone the work is being performed, are becoming both expert at the occupation and very fond of it."

#### ON EMIGRATION TO JAMAICA.

THE following letter has been forwarded to us by an esteemed minister in this country, who received it recently from a missionary in Jamaica. The statements, though startling, are strictly true.

Kingston, Jamaica, October 27th, 1841.

My very dear Sir.—In my last letter to you, when alluding to the fearful mortality which has recently prevailed among the troops and emigrants in this country, I promised you a letter specifically on the subject of the emigration of Europeans to Jamaica. Accordingly I now send you a statement of facts relative to the operation of this cruel, this soul and body destroying system; for so it must ever be regarded by all the true friends of humanity. Since the arrival of the poor deluded victims from Ireland, in the *Robert Kerr*, in the early part of this year, I have felt a deep sympathy on their behalf, being persuaded that they had come out to meet with almost certain disappointment and death. As soon therefore, as I heard that they had landed in Kingston, I determined to visit them; accordingly, as the emigration depot is not far from our house, a respected medical friend, now in England, and myself, went that we might offer to those who were willing to receive it, some advice respecting the treatment of themselves in this country, and especially to urge upon them a strict regard to temperance. And what, my dear Sir, do you suppose was the scene we witnessed on our way thither? Several of these wretched beings in a state of intoxication. They had already tasted the new rum, which is like a deadly poison to the system, and thus they had taken the first step to a premature grave. They were seriously remonstrated with on the madness of their conduct, and assured that a continuance in their present course would, sooner or later, issue in fatal consequences; and in regard to one, who particularly struck our attention, as a fine looking man, this prediction has been strikingly fulfilled, for he died at the Kingston hospital only a few weeks ago of malignant fever, brought on by excessive drinking.

Being in the habit of visiting the hospital every week, to preach and to converse with the sick, I have had good opportunities of ascertaining whether or not the climate of Jamaica is suitable to European emigrants, and the deep conviction produced on my mind by the heart-rending scenes which I have witnessed is, that they who are so deluded as to be induced by the false promises of emigration agents, to set their feet on the shores of this island, do little better than throw themselves at once into the very jaws of death and the grave. To say nothing of those that have died in the city, at the emigration depot, and in other parts of the country, let the numbers, that during the last three or four months, have been carried from the Kingston hospital to their "long home" declare whether it were not better for European labourers and mechanics to suffer almost any thing in their own land rather than come to this country to be hurried by the rum, the sun, and the disappointment they will meet with, into the eternal world. I have now before me a list of more than 70 emigrants that have been patients in the public hospital during this year, and out of this number 26 are dead, and upwards of 20 were still inmates at the time I received this list. I can assure you, my dear Sir, that many a time I have returned home from that hospital, sick at heart at the scenes of suffering which I have witnessed. Here I have seen one poor emigrant dying with Black Vomit; there another suffering from a stroke of the sun; here another burning with fever; and there another covered with ulcers, and all with whom I have conversed on the subject, bemoaning their unhappy fate, and deeply lamenting that ever they came to this country. I made a memorandum of one or two facts which I will give you, as shewing their feeling on this subject.

August the 3rd, visited the hospital, several emigrants sick, conversed with two women especially, one a Roman Catholic, and the other from London, a respectable woman in appearance, who said she had been in the habit of attending the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Evans, of John Street. She has two fine children. I shall never forget her language and manner, when, on being asked whether she regretted having come to Jamaica, she replied, "O, Sir, it has almost broken my heart!" The husbands of both these women are also sick in the hospital.

September 21st, Preached at the hospital this morning; afterwards visited the sick. My heart has been made to bleed for the poor emigrants. There, in one ward, I saw five women, four of whom had lost their husbands since their arrival in Jamaica. One poor woman, who is so sick as to be unable to raise herself in her bed, has not only lost her husband, but two grown up children, and her puny infant that is reduced to a mere skeleton, was nursed by a little girl at the sick woman's bed side. O! it was affecting to see the poor woman cover her face, and weep, as in answer to my inquiries; she expressed to me her great sorrow that ever she had left her native land. I have conversed with several emigrants, but I have never met with one who was not greatly disappointed, and who would not be glad to return. One of the young widows told me that she and her husband had come from the country to Kingston, to try to get home, but whilst here the man was hurried off by the fever, and now she did not know what she should do. In another ward, I entered into conversation with a sick Irish woman, whose husband also is sick, who, when I asked her whether she had found things here as she had expected, replied, "Oh, no, would that I could get back again!" she said, "that Mr. White, of Limerick, told them that if they came out they would have a house, two acres of land, the milk of a cow, two goats, and receive eight shillings a day, whereas the rate of wages is only one shilling and sixpence per day, with very few other advantages. Another emigrant has died this morning; and I have been informed, that all who have died at the hospital during the last month, have been emigrants. Four have been buried in one day."

Ought not these facts to go to the world? Ought they not to be known throughout Great Britain and the sister country too? O, Ireland, how many of thy sons have, within the last few months, fallen victims to the emigration system! Ask, now, where are many of those who came



out in the *Robert Kerr*. They have passed that bourne whence no traveller returns. Whose heart that is not steeled by cupidity, or some other base passion, would not do all in their power to prevent their countrymen from coming hither? Were I able to address them, I would endeavour by all possible means to dissuade them from becoming emigrants to the West Indies. I would do this, because the climate is not suitable to European constitutions; because they cannot bear exposure to the burning sun; because they would not be able, unless they possess more than an ordinary share of moral principle, to resist the numerous temptations and facilities for obtaining ardent spirits; and because their temporal circumstances would not be improved by the change. Having now fulfilled my promise, I remain, &c.

### Literary Notice.

From a Correspondent.

*Essai sur les moyens d'extirper les Préjugés des Blancs contre la couleur des Africains et des Sango-Meles, ouvrage couronné par la Société Française pour l'abolition de l'Esclavage.* 1 Juillet, 1840. Par S. L'Instant (d'Haïti). Paris, 1842. 8vo.

A Prize Essay on the abolition of the prejudices of white men against negroes and other coloured people. By S. L'Instant (of Hayti). Paris, 1842.—170 pp.

THE good Abbé Gregoire founded a prize, which, in 1840, M. L'Instant, an advocate of Hayti, gained by this essay, against five competitors. One of the other essays has reached a second edition; but the superior merit of this production of a coloured man, is an apt reply to those who, against accumulated evidence to the contrary, persist in asserting that the gift of intellect, and the germs of high civilization, are confined to the white race.

We can only glance at the extremely important contents of M. L'Instant's work, and furnish an index to its topics. A copy ought to be in the hands of every one really concerned to understand the whole question which it opens; and by the extensive sale of this pamphlet, which indeed only opens many of the topics, the author ought to be urged to persevere in his studies, so that he may hereafter extend an excellent essay into the great work wanted to do the subject and himself justice. Perhaps, in preparing such a work, M. L'Instant may find reason to modify some of his opinions, or at least to supply omissions occasioned by the necessary brevity of this essay.

The preface offers a satisfactory explanation of what is often called the *slow progress of Hayti* since its independence, which we shall insert in a future number.

This special vindication of the honour of his countrymen, forms a fit introduction to the larger defence of the negro race, which constitutes the substance of M. L'Instant's essay. That essay is replete with curious learning, and with elevated views. He sets out with a clear statement of the antiquity of slavery—of white as well as of black slavery. Hence he infers, that the condition was not among the ancients, exclusively the lot of negroes, as it is now. He then traces the course of the negro slave-trade in Europe to its extinction before the fourteenth century. During the time of its prevalence the most esteemed of the two races were the blacks, being the fewest in number; and the prejudice against them was then unknown.

The revival of negro-slavery M. L'Instant fixes at 1442. Its extension to its present state is then followed out in a variety of interesting speculations. The origin of the modern prejudice of colour is marked with great precision; and we think that few more conclusive arguments are to be met with in the records of the anti-slavery cause, than this of M. L'Instant on this point, founded on the laws of the French West Indian colonies. It would be difficult to abridge this capital part of the essay, if we had space for even the abridgment; and we can only point it out as especially worth perusal in the original.

Against the opinions of those who hold that the negro race is essentially inferior to the whites, M. L'Instant relies upon powerful general reasoning, and upon some individual cases which will be new to most English readers. *Hannibal*, a general in the Russian service under Peter the Great, was a pure negro. He married a Russian lady, and his son was a distinguished Russian officer, and his grandson a more distinguished writer. *Amo*, a German professor of much merit, was a pure negro. *Julien Raymond*, *L'Islet Geoffroy*, *G. Lethierre*, and the two *Dumas*, all admitted by the academy and institute of France among her most illustrious philosophers, soldiers, artists, and men of letters, are all recent names to be added to Abbé Gregoire's list of negro famous men (p. 77).

M. L'Instant passes to the means by which he proposes to destroy the prejudice of colour. They are expressed in the following enumeration:—1. Education, religious and civil; religion taught by deeply learned and highly enlightened ministers, and civil instruction extended to all ranks, and over all science. 2. The extension of all rights to people of colour. 3. The election of the deputies sent from the colonies to Paris by the general voice. 4. The appointment of a sufficient number of blacks to civil posts. 5. Marriage to be encouraged by all not married being refused employment. 6. The equal admission of people of colour to all the ranks of the national guard. 7. Mixed juries. 8. The admission of coloured people on the bench as judges. 9. Appointing protectors of slaves. 10. The abolition of the whip and other corporal punishments. 11. The appropriation of the slave's personal property to his own use. 12. Savings banks. 13. The emigration of white labourers of a

superior sort. 14. Moderation of tasks. 15. Amusements, such as music. 16. The encouragement of the marriage of slaves (p. 107—149).

M. L'Instant distinguishes the prejudice of colour from slavery; and, without suspending his zeal against the latter, he maintains that, whilst all his measures would prepare the way for its abolition, they are also good in themselves. He wisely adds, that, even if slavery be abolished, old prejudice will long survive, requiring especial provisions of law to protect its objects against injustice.

M. L'Instant concludes his essay with an observation that deserves to be well weighed by those who meddle with these subjects. Each measure, says he, proposed above for the extinction of prejudices against coloured people, may unquestionably be adopted separately with advantage: but, to produce the good anticipated from them, they must be executed as a whole. It is a complete system that is wanted, and it is the government that must take the lead in executing it.

These words should be engraven on the minds of our Anti-slavery committee-men—our Aborigines Protection Society committee-men—our African Civilization Society committee-men—and, above all, the ministers of the crown and the members of the legislature, should adopt these opinions as their rule, in whatever is attempted for the improvement of the coloured race connected with us.

Extract of a letter from J. M. Phillippo, a respected Baptist Missionary, in Jamaica, to Mary Dudley, of Peckham, whilst on a sea voyage for the benefit of his health; he incidentally makes the following observations, his letter is dated from Barbados, 22nd of December, 1841.

\*\*\*\*\* "On my way hither from Jamaica, I have touched at the following islands, and seen most of their chief towns, viz.: Cuba, Hayti, Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, Tortola, Santa Cruz, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Barbados—English, Spanish, Danish, Dutch, and French; in all these, except the English, slavery still reigns and riots; but, accompanied by a fearful feeling of insecurity on the part of the oppressors. Hence, in the Spanish colonies especially, every stranger is most narrowly watched, and should he speak to a negro, such suspicions are awakened as would almost subject him to assassination. Soldiers too, are stationed at almost all parts of the country, and reinforcements are daily expected. In Puerto Rico, I was told, that for no other purpose than to prevent a rising of their slaves, 2000 more troops were daily expected. What a contrast is presented to this state of things in the British islands—here all is cheerfulness, independence, and happiness. On telling the men who brought me on shore this morning in their boat, that I was a Baptist Missionary, and had united with others in endeavouring to get them the liberty they now enjoyed; "God bless you, Sir," they exclaimed with one voice. "We never put a piece of bread into our mouth without blessing God for his goodness in putting it into the hearts of gentlemen like you to get us our liberty." Passing close by all the islands I have named; in every instance, Tortola excepted, I saw as much cultivation going on in the free, as in the slave islands; and I am happy to add, as the results of conversation I had with a gentleman or two, large proprietors on one of the Danish islands, that the spirit of liberty has already begun to dawn there also,"

\*\*\*\*\* sincerely yours,

J. M. PHILLIPPO.

PRAYER FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.—The Committee of the Belfast Anti-slavery Society have, during the past year, sent to the clergy in that town the following circular, previously to the last Sabbath in every month:—

"You are particularly requested, in the public services of next Sabbath, to supplicate the Divine blessing on the measures now adopted for the Total Abolition of Slavery throughout the world. Sent by direction of the Committee of the Belfast Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

"J. STANDFIELD, } Secretaries."  
"F. A. CALDER. }

SLAVER CONDEMNED.—The following is an extract of a letter from Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, dated Dec. 11:—"On the 1st inst. the case of the Portuguese slave *Anne*, seized by her Majesty's ship, *Acorn*, and sent in here (Table Bay), came before the Vice-Admiralty Court for adjudication, when their honours immediately ordered her to be condemned."

CUBA.—We have every reason to believe that M. Gonzales has instructed M. Sancho, the minister in London, to apply to Lord Aberdeen for Mr. Turnbull's immediate removal from the Havana consulship; and it is said by people at the offices, that his lordship has recently admitted that our cruisers were in the wrong, when recently endeavouring to make good prizes of some slaves who were being conveyed from one part of Cuba to another on board a vessel that got aground, and was subsequently lost, all lives saved.—*Morning Post*.

### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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	Dons.			Subs.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Strood—Wheeler, Frederick	.	.	.	1	0	0
" Tatum, William	.	.	.	1	0	0
Worcester—Pumphrey, Stanley	.	.	.	1	1	0
Richmond—Mendham, John	1	1	0			
Woodbridge—Ladies' Negro Friend and Instruc- tion Society	.	.	.	5	0	0
Campbell—Wedgwood, Sarah	30	0	0			
A Friend to Humanity, per J. Scole	10	0	0			
Darlington—Jonathan Backhouse	50	0	0			

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